

PEACE NEWS

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2d.

"Thus we arrive by our ancient constitutional methods" (laughter) "at practical working arrangements which show that Parliamentary democracy can adapt itself to all situations" (renewed laughter.)—Mr. Winston

LAURENCE HOUSMAN on our

Churchill in the House of Commons, September 9, 1942.

Cabinet Pudding

INTO the mysteries of how a Cabinet Pudding is really made I do not propose to enter.

When served at table it has the appearance of a rich batter containing a liberal assortment of pudding-plums, and a more select assortment of round red cherries, pushed prominently to the surface so as to make a better show: the more ordinary plum lies buried in the body of the batter—which before being cooked has been beaten to a good even consistency.

If I have described it at all rightly, I have described the sort of pudding which Cabinet rule has, with increasing efficiency during the last five decades, made of the House of Commons.

The People's House is no longer the independent body it once was, and still, for shop-window-dressing purposes, professes to be. If one of the common herd, to whose vote it owes its existence, dares to question its bona fides, its honesty, or its incorruptibility, without sufficient circumlocution, it is quite capable of having him called to the bar of the House and there admonished by the Speaker, or even committed to imprisonment in the Clock-tower for having said things about it which were inconveniently true.

Transfer of Power

Yet here are some plain facts which cannot be questioned. In the constitutional conflicts of the last 120 years, and more particularly of the last fifty, power, initiative, and prerogative have passed steadily from the Crown and the House of Lords—not to the House of Commons but to the Cabinet; and this without the Cabinet—which under the letter of the Constitution need not exist—ever being mentioned.

How has it been done? It has been done by the increasing hold over the House of Commons which the Cabinet has secured for itself by the tightening-up of party discipline, which, under Government control, more and more holds the private member to ransom by the threat of

a general election which the Crown has no longer the recognized right to refuse.

It may be said that such transfer of the Crown's prerogative is of old standing; but the power which it gives to the Government over its supporters is greatly increased by the fact that a very much larger number of them now depend on grants-in-aid for their election expenses from the Party's Central Fund (which the Government controls and can allocate) than was the case fifty or sixty years ago.

Stranglehold of Finance

This applies equally to Conservatives, Liberals, and Labour men. Tories and Liberals who disobey the Whips' instructions are liable to be denied financial assistance in the event of a general election, while the Labour Party's discipline is even more stringent.

A recalcitrant Labour man (1) may be denied pecuniary aid at the election; (2) may have withheld from him the usual Party Whip which includes great advantages; (3) may be refused nomination by the Central Executive Committee without which his candidature becomes "non-official"; (3) his local constituency party may be disaffiliated from the national party and a new and rival "official" party may be set up. Sir

Stafford Cripps, Mr. D. N. Pritt, KC, and Mr. W. J. Brown have all been treated in this fashion. He may be just as much a Conservative, or a Liberal, or a Labourite, as he ever was; but because he has not obeyed the Whip there is a bad mark against him; and only if he has independent means, or strong local backing from a constituency which happens to value independence, has he any chance of standing for re-election.

Fifty, and still more, sixty years ago (the numbers have steadily diminished), there were far more independent members of Parliament than there are today. The batter of the Cabinet Pudding has been assiduously beaten to an ever more even consistency.

Ambitious Followers

Another source of increasing power for the Cabinet lies in the fact that not only is the Cabinet itself larger than it was formerly, but there are many more Government appointments outside the Cabinet—more Secretaries and Heads of Departments, and a great many more Under-Secretaries and Assistants than there used to be. In the present House of Commons there are some 86 members who are paid Government officials in one office or another (though their salaries include the normal payment of an MP) and there are another forty or so

"Parliamentary Private Secretaries" who are unpaid, but who regard their positions as a stepping-stone to a higher post. All these 126 can be counted on to vote with the Government. The bulk of them could be shed by the Government without any inconvenience of loss of popularity to itself: there are plenty of others ready and waiting to take their place.

These 126 pudding plums, buried in the body of the batter, help to consolidate the Cabinet Pudding and give it a firmer consistency. Many of them are at the beginning of their political career, hoping for a rise; without resigning they cannot give an independent vote, and to resign would, in most cases, be fatal to their future prospects. By this increase of departmental appointments the Government has in its pocket a much larger number of its supporters than formerly; and in that same proportion the independence of the House of Commons is weakened, and the power of the Government is strengthened.

Thirty years ago it was still necessary for members accepting certain Government appointments to stand for re-election: and there have been instances where, under those circumstances, their constituencies have turned them down. That is no longer the case; and a member, however precarious his hold upon his seat may be, can now enter the Government without any fear of losing it.

Nor is the Government's hold over the political lives of its members limited to its own supporters. Its power to decree an election (even if

(Continued on page 4)

India : Premier's False Picture

**A Pacifist
COMMENTARY
Edited by
OBSERVER**

THE situation in India is deplorable; so was Mr. Churchill's statement on Sep. 10. Instead of being a kindergarten lesson about India (as Mr. Greenwood described it) it was an unconscious effort to deceive the House and country as to the realities of the Indian situation. These words should not be forgotten:

The Indian Congress Party does not represent India. It does not represent the majority of the people of India. It does not even represent the Hindu masses. It is a political organization built around a party machine and sustained by certain manufacturing and financial interests.

Outside that party and fundamentally opposed to it, are the 90 million Moslems in British India who have their rights of self-expression; the 50 million Depressed Classes, or the Untouchables as they are called because they are supposed to defile their Hindu co-religionists by their presence or their shadow; and the 95 million subjects of the Princes of India with whom we are bound by treaties; in all 235 millions in these three large groupings alone, out of 390 millions in all India. This takes no account of large elements among the Hindus, Sikhs and Christians in British India who deplore the conduct of the Congress Party.

It is necessary that these main facts should not be overlooked here or abroad, because no comprehension of the Indian problem or of the relations between Britain and India is possible without the recognition of these basic data.

Irresponsible

THE political facts about India are subject to dispute; and there are pretty wide and legitimate margins either side of any fair estimate of the facts. What is not subject to dispute is that this picture presented by Mr. Churchill is beyond the legitimate margin. It is a false picture.

The irresponsibility of giving a false picture to the country and the world at this time beggars description. Pitiful, too, is the admission that this ex parte statement was drafted with the full participation of

Mr. Attlee. Mr. Maxton said in the debate:

It is most unfortunate for this country that the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State for India, thrown into office at this time for entirely other reasons, should have the defining of a new Indian policy and the framing of an attempt to establish the strong hand in India again. Everybody in this House who was here at the time of the India Debates knows perfectly well that there were no two members of this Assembly who were more hostile to any extension of political liberty in India than the two right hon. Gentlemen.

That is unfortunate: indeed, disastrous. But it may be said that Mr. Churchill spoke according to his known nature and convictions. We need a word of a different category to describe the adoption of their attitude and language by the Leader of the Labour Party and Sir Stafford Cripps: and the proceedings of Mr. Amery.

Attack on Gandhi

MR. AMERY, whom I had hitherto regarded as an honest though bigoted politician, made a quite unscrupulous attack on Mr. Gandhi (who is, of course, unable to reply). Its substance was that Mr. Gandhi and the Congress Working Committee became very unpopular by their rejection of the Cripps' proposals. "In these circumstances, Mr. Gandhi and the Congress majority that then went with him determined on a policy of mass disobedience... Action on the part of Mr. Gandhi, who in these

matters has been the arch-saboteur, has always been wrecking."

In other words, Gandhi, in order to restore his credit when he had been discredited by his refusal of the Cripps' proposals, called for a campaign of civil disobedience. Mr. Amery also said that the non-violence was so much humbug. The campaign was deliberately planned as violent sabotage of the defence of India. When pressed by Mr. S. O. Davies and Mr. Maxton to supply evidence of the charge, none was forthcoming. It was not in the public interest that it should be supplied.

Amery's Version

NOW can we trust Mr. Amery at all? The following passage from his speech has completely convinced me that we cannot:

Similarly, Mr. Prasad said, "In this last decisive struggle by Mr. Gandhi for national independence, they might have to face bombs, bullets and shells."

Does this look a purely non-violent movement? Indeed, I may point out that when, on July 10, the Congress Working Committee issued a resolution urging the people of India to resist the ordinary compensated requisitioning of boats or vehicles or lands, Mr. Gandhi added as to the method of resistance: "No doubt the non-violent way is always the best, but where that does not come naturally—it does not always come naturally to most people—the violent way is both necessary and honourable, and in action here is rank cowardice and unmanly."

Increasing information was coming in all the time as to the nature of the movement. Mr. Maxton: I did not quite gather whether that had been said by Mr. Gandhi himself or whether he was reported as having said it?

Mr. Amery: It was written by Mr. Gandhi in his journal Harijan on June 28.

What Gandhi really said

ANYONE might reasonably wonder how a statement printed in Harijan of June 28 could be a comment (Continued on page 2)

Have YOU Any "Elephants"?

THE contributions to the Dick Sheppard House Redemption Fund have now reached £891. We are glad to have news of so much activity among our best groups for this fund.

Bournemouth sent us £6. 14s., proceeds of a collection, the sale of apples, and the auction of a watch and purse.

Blackheath sent £17. 8s. from one Saturday afternoon effort. They had a flower, fruit and vegetable stall and a "white elephant" stall. We wish there was space to tell of the "white elephants" for they were very valuable (£3). There were also collections, auctions and raffles; drama, films, and readings helped to make the gathering really noteworthy. The For co-operated with the PPU. Few of our branches but could do something like this.

There is still time for an effort by every group. But time presses. We are grateful for all the splendid help given. Contributions should be sent to 6 Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

**James H. Hudson
Alfred Salter**

Joint Hon. Treasurers

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World- Leadership

DR. Nicholas Murray Butler, President of Columbia, the great university of New York City, and President of the Carnegie Institute, is a considerable figure in the USA. Though Mr. H. G. Wells has often poked sly fun at him, he is one of the most influential of non-political Anglophil-Americans. Here is what Dr. Butler says:

World-leadership has crossed the Atlantic and the age of modern Europe is coming to an end. After the war the British Commonwealth will be still more decentralized. (Evening News, Sep. 8).

That is a polite way of putting some simple truths which it behoves every Englishman to recognize.

Already Australia and New Zealand have passed into the American orbit. When the Japanese menace assumes the proportions it has today, and Britain is no longer able to defend them against it, it is inevitable that they should draw closer, politically, economically and militarily, to the USA. Anzac soldiers become less and less familiar in Britain. The conditions of global war today make such a use of them wasteful; and they have their work cut out to defend their own country.

Instead of Anzacs in Britain, we have Americans. They come to us with the best intentions; but the fact cannot be hidden that Great Britain is in danger of becoming merely an outpost of American defence: a bigger and more important Iceland. No doubt, when the war ends, many elements in the USA will desire to treat Britain generously; but many will not. And the chances are that the elements which have no particular affection for Britain will be in control. But, whether the post-war USA is benevolent or unkind towards us, will make no difference to her unconscious effort to impose American values upon us.

Perhaps the majority of the people of Britain, particularly after twenty years of high-pressure education by Hollywood, have accepted American values already. In that case a minority must put up the best fight it can. For the fact is that the American is the richest and most materialistic society extant today. The British standard of living is probably a good deal better than most countries', but the standard of American living in war-time is already fantastic compared to ours. Americans are encouraged to eat at least one fresh egg every day; every family, it is urged, should have a chicken at least once a week; and the one feature of the brave post-war world that is being publicized throughout the American press is that after the war every family will have its own aeroplane.

Undoubtedly, world-leadership in the modern materialistic race has passed to the USA. Whether that is to be the same as world-leadership depends on ourselves. The moral leadership of the world might yet be ours. But not unless we resolve to be worthy to take it.

The fundamental problem of the modern world (if it is not to go on lurching from disaster to disaster) is to establish some values for human living that are quite independent of wealth. The USA is even more alien to such an attempt than Britain herself. The longer the war goes on, the greater will be our moral subordination to America, and the smaller the possibility of re-asserting a true conception of human welfare to replace the false materialistic one which has brought the world to its present chaos.

This is not an indictment of the USA. It is a form of the tragic paradox in which our false civilization is caught. As the war goes on, the productive power of the world increases by leaps and bounds; while the moral discrimination is blunted which alone could control that productive power to other than ends of moral and physical savagery.

The Depressed Classes of India

THE origin of Untouchability in India may be compared in some respects to that of the colour bar in South Africa. Essentially it originally marked the distinction between "backward" aborigines and "civilized" conquerors.

Caste hindus have seldom treated Untouchables with the physical brutality of the white peoples towards the Negro, but in more subtle forms of unpleasantness they have often excelled Europeans.

On one point the comparison is very close: the ban on Untouchables entering Hindu temples, which is similar to the ban on Negro Christians worshipping in the churches reserved for whites. There is also a similar conviction that the oppressed people ("Untouchables" or Negroes) are "dirty." Or, as Somerset Maugham and others have said in our own country, "The working classes smell."

The number of Indian "Untouchables" is difficult to estimate, owing to the variation in customs and the growing tendency to ignore the distinctions. The 1931 Census stated their numbers to be 52 millions out of about 350 million (the total population of India at that time). In 1932 the Provincial Governments gave figures totalling 37.45 millions, and the Lothian Committee showed the difficulty of a correct estimate in its report.

Gandhi's whole career in India has been associated with the abolition of Untouchability, which he once called "a corroding poison that is eating into the vitals of Hindu society." Many, including political opponents and critics, have praised the Mahatma highly for his work in this sphere of activity. These include Dr. Westcott (Bishop of Calcutta) in a letter attacking the Civil Disobedience Campaign of 1930.

Gandhi refuses to address a meeting where the "Untouchables" are segregated. If the audience refuses to "mix up," he will go in among the "Untouchables" and speak to them, leaving the others to hear as best they can. "Untouchables" live at his ashram (a kind of monastic settlement and training centre). By such practical demonstrations and his continual teaching on this subject, Gandhi has won the support of Congress for his programme and the affection and trust of the Indian Depressed Classes themselves.

Every effort has been made to discredit the work of Gandhi and Congress for the Depressed Classes. In 1935 the Bengal Administrative Report went so far as to accuse Nehru (who was then in England) of misappropriating funds collected for work on behalf of these classes. When Nehru protested in the Manchester Guardian, the Bengal Government withdrew the charges, but saw no reason for an apology. However, the work goes on. Congress policy is based on the Declaration of Rights formulated in 1931, including demands for adult suffrage, free education, and statutory rights for the Depressed Classes on every point with regard to which they have been penalised.

The Lothian Committee, testing a proposal for indirect election, was surprised to find that a group of villagers elected an "Untouchable" because he "served all and was therefore to be honoured." (The traditional work of these people is that of cleaners and scavengers). The Marquis of Dufferin, who tells the story (Spectator, July 11, 1932), saw a sinister sign in this—"how the left-wing of Congress is drifting toward the doctrines of Communism." The remark is revealing. British missionaries may be alarmed at the social evils of India, but our Government has as good a reason for preserving most of them as Congress has for abolishing them.

In this case it is clear that any real effort to raise the status of the Depressed Classes would offend the bulk of the Princes, landlords and plutocrats who are our principal allies in India. These privileged classes stand by the Government because it protects privilege; and to reverse that policy would be to lose their support.

In 1932 a gentleman called J. C. Curry wrote a book on "The Indian Police." In several passages he pointed out with great satisfaction that we had built up our police force on the caste system, debarring "men of the menial classes" from the police, as from the army. In British India little has been done by the British to educate the "Untouchables," our

Reginald Reynolds gives the facts about the "Untouchables"

Government comparing very unfavourably here with the more enlightened Indian States. I hold no brief for the Indian Princes; but at their best they have put us to shame. In Baroda the percentage of "educated" among the "Untouchables" was greater by 1928 than the educated percentage of the entire population of the country.

Until 1937 "Untouchables" had no vote. The vote in India is not, of course, very important under any of our "constitutions," because our Viceroy and "RIGHTS" Governors can completely override the legislatures. But the omission of the Depressed Classes even from this shadow of a constitution was significant. They were supposed to be "represented" by persons nominated by the Government itself!

COMMENTARY

on a Congress decision of July 10. But no-one, except the few who have access to Harijan, would guess the truth: that Gandhi's statement had nothing whatever to do with the campaign of civil disobedience. He is referring to the misbehaviour of British and Indian troops towards the civil population:

On the first item (i.e. misbehaviour of troops) the people have the law and public opinion wholly on their side. The Government machinery is always slow to move, more so now, when it is all pre-mortgaged for military operations. People must everywhere learn to defend themselves against misbehaving individuals no matter who they are. The question of violence and non-violence does not arise. No doubt the non-violent way is always the best, but where that does not come naturally the violent way is both necessary and honourable. Inaction here is rank cowardice and unmanly. It must be shunned at all cost. Pandit Nehru told me that at the stations in the north platform hawkers have handed themselves for self-defence, so that troops are careful at these stations.

Mr. Amery's distortion of this statement must be deliberate. His action is shocking.

Cripps's Allegation

NOR is Sir Stafford Cripps's candour beyond suspicion, not only because he shares responsibility for Mr. Churchill's statement with its plain suggestion of falsity, but because he said categorically that the change in the attitude of the Congress Working Committee towards the Cripps proposals "took place on the intervention of Mr. Gandhi. The Congress Working Committee had passed a resolution to accept the proposals. Mr. Gandhi intervened and subsequently that resolution was reversed." There is no indication in the White Paper of any such happening. Furthermore, the D. Herald (Sep. 14) reports that Sir Stafford made a similar statement to the United Press of India on his return to London, and this was published in India. Both Gandhi and Nehru then denied it.

Gandhi's answer was: "I wish I could have induced the Working Committee to take up its stand on pure non-violence, but it did not and could not. Its deliberations, therefore, were carried on without any interference or guidance on my part."

Nehru said: "Sir Stafford's statement is entirely incorrect. After Gandhi had left Delhi there were no consultations with him of any kind, and it is entirely wrong to imagine that the rejection of the proposals was due to his pressure."

It has now been categorically denied by Mr. Rajagopalachari. How comes it then that Sir Stafford persists in it?

An Inadequate Speech

MR. A. J. CUMMINGS (N. Chronicle, Sep. 11) is indignant with Mr. A. Bevan for saying that the debate on Mr. Churchill's statement on the war-situation collapsed because the statement was "turgid, wordy, dull and prosaic." On the contrary says Mr. Cummings: "Mr. Churchill, looking the embodiment of robust health gave Parliament a fascinating though necessarily incomplete account of his journey to the Middle East and to Russia and of the general situation."

Tastes differ. Mr. Bevan is prone to exaggeration, and Mr. Cummings to adulation. But the plain truth was that Mr. Churchill's speech was quite inadequate. Since Mr. Churchill treated the House of Commons with contempt, it is not surprising—though perhaps regrettable—that the House did not hear him out. It is not like the House of Commons to refuse to sit out a "fascinating"

The Constitution of 1935 retained property as the basis of franchise, but widened the range to bring in 14 per cent. of the population as voters. The Government's "Communal Award" was an attempt to create separate electorates for the "Untouchables," allocating some 4 per cent. of the seats in the legislatures to a section of the community estimated at between 15 per cent. and 25 per cent. of the population.

This policy of discrimination was the occasion of Gandhi's fast in 1932. The Government's case was sponsored in India by Dr. Ambedkar, a former Government nominee on the Bombay Legislative Council and today a Government nominee on the Viceroy's Council, which shares responsibility for the present repression. Dr. Ambedkar has never been accused of ingratitude to the Government, to which he owes so much. But his attempt to "lead" the Depressed Classes against Gandhi and their own interests was a dismal failure. Gandhi gained for the "Untouchables" full participation in the general electorates with a minimum reservation of seats twice as high as the Government (and Ambedkar) had offered them.

In the first and only election since the new constitution came into force (1937) Congress gained 78 of these reserved seats, independents 57, and Dr. Ambedkar's party—in spite of all their powerful friends could do for them—only 13. Thus Congress supporters hold 51% of these seats and the "leader of the Depressed Classes" (as he is called in England) holds 9%. In 1937 the press was full of a story that Ambedkar was going to "lead" the Depressed Classes en masse into the Christian Church. The story has since been discreetly forgotten. I fancy the White Brahmins would have been as embarrassed as the Hindu priests—if they had believed it.

(Continued from p. 1)

speech by Mr. Churchill. This time it was not fascinated. It was not, as Sir Stafford Cripps said, that the speech "left nothing for discussion"; it contained nothing for discussion.

Times Change . . .

IT was an experience of great interest to him, said Mr. Churchill, to meet Premier Stalin—the "great rugged war-chief." Then he proceeded to a descriptive passage for his next war-book:

"He is a man of massive outstanding personality, suited to the sombre and stormy times in which his life has been cast, a man of inexhaustible courage and will-power and a man direct and even blunt in speech. . . Above all he is a man with that saving sense of humour which is of high importance to all men and all nations, but particularly to great men and great nations. Stalin also left upon me the impression of a deep, cool wisdom and a complete absence of illusions of any kind."

With this we may compare—Hyperion to a satyr—the picture of the Bolshevik as drawn by Mr. Churchill in 1919:

"Look at the Bolsheviks. They have proclaimed the most wonderful utopian ideals, but they have coupled with them the most cruel, the most wicked behaviour that has ever been seen among men, and with actions that would disgrace the Stone Age or the Hot-tentots of Central Africa."

The whirligig of time!

Education in Russia

I WAS, hitherto, under the impression that higher education was open to all Russian children who are capable of profiting by it. A slightly dogmatic and one-sided education may be, but available to all. Yet, in a completely uncritical and enthusiastic article on Russian education by Mr. Paul Winterton (N. Chronicle, Sep. 11), I read:

"The student is now 17 or 18. Again he has the choice between going to work or going to the university. The decision rests solely with the parents and the pupils."

"Much depends on the parents' means and to what extent they need financial assistance from the young people."

"Education ceases to be free after the 7th class (reached between 14 and 15 years of age), and payment is a fixed charge not depending on the income. Scholarships to universities are available for outstanding pupils."

In what such a system is superior to that of Britain, or France, or America, I entirely fail to see. It is as much a class-system of education as that of any of those countries.

Anti-Hitler Movement?

THE Stockholm correspondent of the N. Chronicle (Sep. 14) reports that the Germans do not believe in the possibility of invasion—either by them of Britain or by us of occupied Europe. But there is, he says, a section of the German people which fears a Hitler victory even more than an allied one, and realizes that "to get rid of Hitler and all his works is the task, first and foremost, of the Germans themselves, and that this is the first condition of peace." Lately, I have heard much the same story—even more precise—from other quarters.

But I doubt whether the anti-Hitler movement in Germany is any stronger than the anti-Churchill movement in this country. Nor am I very deeply impressed by the reports that some of the army-leaders are restive and critical. Quite possibly there are some of them who think that the Gestapo carries things too far, or that the religious persecution of fellow-Lutherans in Norway is unworthy; but dissatisfaction of that order is a long, long way from revolution—even a palace revolution.

THE basis of the Peace Pledge Union is the following pledge which is signed by each member:

I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER.
The address to which new signatures of the pledge should be sent, and from which further particulars may be obtained is:
PPU HEADQUARTERS,
Dick Sheppard House,
6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

The Campaign for Food Relief in the U.S.A.

By HOWARD WHITTEN

IT may be impossible to prevent our Government trying to starve its enemies. That is the intention—though not the effect—of economic warfare. It may not be impossible, however, to prevent it helping to starve millions of Europeans who were its luckless comrades-in-arms, and who are now suffering between the military necessities of the New Order and the Blockade. That is the justification for urging controlled food relief wherever the need is proved.

Immersed in its own struggle, this country was slow to see the inevitable starvation on the Continent, and slower to admit any responsibility for it. Conversely, as in the last war, the United States, remote from the battle, was first in the field to mitigate the grossest injustices inherent in the policies of the belligerents. After Pearl Harbour, unhappily, she was herself preoccupied with short-term self-interest, and the influential Hoover Committee suspended its public educational activities.

Recently many non-pacifist men of good will in this country have supported food relief for Greece, so that substantial concessions have been wrung from the Ministry of Economic Warfare. The extension of relief to other famine areas in Europe is still proving difficult.

It is therefore encouraging that the Post-War World Council, of which Oswald Garrison Villard is treasurer, has taken the lead in the USA on these lines.

★

At a public meeting in New York on June 30 last, representatives of five leading organizations concerned with relief spoke under the slogan: "Hunger—Will sending food to conquered Europe help Hitler?" Norman Thomas, chairman of the executive of the PWWC, said:

"We are well aware that... it is not possible while war still rages to conquer the hunger which it rapidly becoming starvation in Europe. But there are some steps which can be taken in the name of humanity and for the sake of the future. To do what we can is the more important because we cannot possibly do all that should be done.

"The most ambitious suggestions that have been formulated for bringing some relief to Europe have always included these understandings: (1) Children should be the special objects of attention; (2) milk, fats, and drugs are the supplies most needed and most practicable to furnish; (3) the expense of furnishing these supplies in a great many cases can be largely borne from funds controlled by certain governments in exile or by representatives of the populations to be helped; (4) in every case the test for beginning or continuing any relief is that it must be additional to the present rations and not a substitute for any part of them; and finally, the Nazi overlords must guarantee freedom from interference with the International Red Cross, the Friends Service Committee or other agencies under responsible neutral administration, which may distribute relief.

"The amount of relief which by the wildest stretch of the imagination could be made available, if it were all suddenly confiscated, could not provision Hitler's armies for more than a day or two, and in the hunger of Europe these armies will suffer last and least...

"Hunger turned into starvation by the Anglo-American blockade will not produce the most stalwart and enthusiastic supporters of our cause on the European continent. Still less in the difficult days of post-war reconstruction will the people who have been the victims of this blockade rally with wholehearted enthusiasm to Anglo-American 'liberalism' as the hope of mankind. They will turn to other leaders and other friends.

"Mothers watching their little ones die of hunger or, what is almost worse, live stunted in mind or body, may curse first of all the Nazi tyrant; but neither now or in the years to come will they bless the nations responsible for blockade unrelieved even by such gestures of compassion as here and there lightened the darkness of hunger, hate, and despair in the First World War."

THE CHRISTIAN AS PEACE-MAKER

Review by Vera Brittain

Religion and the Quest for Peace.
By George M. Ll. Davies, "Brotherhood of Peace" pamphlets, PPU, 1s.

THERE is a real danger that this excellent pamphlet, printed small and priced at 1s., may encounter a neglect which would not have occurred had it been slightly enlarged and published as a book. I hope that neither its print nor its price will deter any peace-lover from reading it, for it is one of the best shillings-worths that the PPU has put on the market.

Part of the author's purpose is to show that the quest of peace is a problem no only of our own time but of all ages. He emphasizes the contrast between the unique insight shown in the Song of the Suffering Servant (Isaiah 42 and 53), and the actual course of history from the age of Kings and Chronicles down to the war-to-end-war of the present century.

But the value of this pamphlet lies not so much in any consistent thesis, as in the degree to which it reflects the spacious magnanimity and humane benevolence of George Davies's mind. It is a notebook of wise reflections, as well as a collection of valuable quotations chosen by the diligent reader of a catholic library. These quotations range from Zechariah to Bernard Shaw, from Lord Morley's "Life of Cobden" (who with John Bright opposed the Crimean War), to the poem entitled "The New Imperialism," by which, to his everlasting honour, William Watson lost the Laureateship during Britain's imperialistic conflict with the South African Republics.

Two outstanding conclusions remain with the reader of these

scholarly meditations. One is the extent to which men and women, even of outstanding quality, deteriorate rather than improve as they grow older if they once permit "careerism," however elevated, seriously to compete with the hard road to the Kingdom of God. George Davies makes his point without insistence by quoting at length from the young and the older William Temple, and from the Winston Churchill who expressed, as a thirty-year-old Home Secretary, his belief that "the treatment of crime and criminals is one of the most unfailing tests of the civilization of any country," and his "unfaltering faith that there is a treasure, if you can only find it, in the heart of every man."

In the second place, the author returns to a favourite theme of his own sermons and speeches: The need for personal and national repentance as the indispensable condition of a Christian peace. Like his Lord and Master, he seeks the delivery of men from "the megalomania of bigness" and from the tendency to underrate the spiritual power which "two or three gathered together" can generate in a society intoxicated with mass movements and bemused with gigantic catastrophes.

Those who believe, like this reviewer, that a leading function of pacifism, as of the Christian Church itself, is to recover the value of the individual which has been submerged in the rising tide of totalitarian paganism, should lose no time in re-reading this pamphlet. It will reinvigorate their faith in the leavening power of personal witness, and in the function of "interpreters" of men and nations in the making of peace.

LETTERS

A Broken Pledge

WHEN compulsory military service was introduced on the eve of the war the promise was given that the persecution of conscientious objectors which took place in the last war would not be renewed, and I wish to acknowledge that as a whole objectors have now been treated more liberally.

There have been some exceptions, however. Despite pledges to the contrary, "cat-and-mouse" treatment has recurred. May I draw your attention to the two severest cases?

Gerald Henderson, of West Hartlepool, is a religious objector. He was refused exemption by the Tribunals, arrested and taken into the Army. He has been court-martialled five times and has served sentences of 28 days' detention and 4 months', 6 months', and 7 months' imprisonment. He is now serving a sentence of 15 months' imprisonment. Yet the Appellate Tribunal still decline to acknowledge that he is a sincere objector.

The second case, Stanley Hilton of Rochdale, is also a religious objector. He has been court-martialled three times, has served sentences of one year's imprisonment and 2 years' detention (commuted to seven months) and is now serving a third sentence of two years' imprisonment.

Have not these boys proved their sincerity? It is of no benefit to the Army to keep on sending them back to prison, and it is a blot on the administration of the conscience clause of the National Service Acts.

FENNER BROCKWAY

Chairman, Central Board for COS.
6 Endsleigh Street,
London, W.C.1.

John Barclay

There is a formal notice in Peace News (Sept. 11) of the termination of John Barclay's appointment as National Development Officer, and of his declining to accept a post as propagandist for PPU publications department.

While it is unfitting that comment should be made in the journal on the circumstances which have brought about the loss of his full-time ser-

★ ★ ★ The Editor to Correspondents:—

Owing to the large number of claims on our severely limited space, correspondents are urged to keep their letters very brief, and preferably under 250 words.

vices to the Union, nevertheless, I feel that some reference should be made to his many years of grand work.

May I be allowed, therefore, through your columns to express for myself and, I believe, for many others our appreciation of his devoted and untiring services in the cause of peace, and our gratitude to him for his staunch spirit and unfailing good humour in difficult times. We look forward to the day when his special and valuable qualities will again be made full use of in our organisation.

R. FRASER REEKIE

Chairman: N.W. London Region
and Golders Green Group.

9 Temple Fortune Court,
London, N.W.11.

Readers may like to know that John Barclay's private address is: 64 Ellerton Rd., London, S.W.18.—Ed.

● Liberation by Annihilation? ●

"Today, as Britain entered upon her fourth year of war, the nation united in a day of prayer and dedication." Evening Standard, Sep. 3.

IN the same issue of the same paper as the above words appeared, Major Oliver Stewart, the Air Correspondent, delivered himself of the following Christian sentiments:—

"Is it a raid on occupied France? Then put everything in and, if the objective be Dieppe, blow everything in it sky-high before the troops land. Concentrate, do not dissipate... If our purpose was to enter Dieppe it would have seemed, in logic, that the right procedure would have been to take advantage of the effective fighter cover, to hurl in a large part at any rate of our bomber fleet and to flatten the place before landing.

"If the idea persists that we cannot do this because of the French inhabitants, then a fundamental fault is revealed in the direction. In war today there can be no half-measures."

THE FUNCTION OF A P.P.U. GROUP

From the Central London Group

The function of a Peace Pledge Union group is to enable its members to give a wider expression to their pacifism by:

- 1 providing an opportunity for pacifist fellowship in the district;
- 2 encouraging an awareness and understanding of social and political conditions, locally, nationally and internationally;
- 3 existing as an experiment in right social relationships through the practice of agreed methods of co-operation and procedure;
- 4 seeking the highest level of agreement within the group and in relation to the rest of the movement and examining the opportunities of expressing that agreement by common action in society.

We are agreed that the acceptance of this aim and methods involves for the individual a certain discipline within the group and for the group a certain loyalty to the national movement, the practical implications of which we attempt briefly to define. It is fully recognized that there will be circumstances in which co-operation will prove difficult or undesirable, either because of principles or practical objections, and no conception of loyalty should obscure the strongly held views of minorities. Nevertheless, it remains true that effective group action can only be achieved by maximum co-operation and a realization of the responsibility of each individual to take part in all work to which he does not, for conscientious or other reasons, object. Therefore:

(a) All signatories should be approached to attend meetings, subscribe to funds and to Peace News. Information about lapsed members and changes of address should be promptly sent to Head Office. Someone should be appointed to maintain contact with scattered members.

(b) All members should be encouraged to contribute regularly to group funds under the Nottingham scheme and the group should plan the allocation of its income between its various activities and the rest of the movement according to standards agreed within the group and, as far as possible, by the rest of the movement. Special appeals should be used only for special expenditure.

(c) Members should be urged to accept attendance at group meetings as an obligation and to send an apology when unable to attend.

(d) The group should contrive to use the particular talents of the individuals for its various offices, not forgetting that the development of special ability should run parallel with a democratic distribution of responsibility.

(e) CO funds and the welfare of other pacifists in distress should be the concern of all members. The development of CBCO organization should be the special concern of the group.

(f) Arrangements should be made for the distribution of Peace News and co-operation with other groups sought where regional distribution would diminish the work of Peace News office.

(g) Other groups should be visited by individuals, and the group, as a unit, should use all opportunities for inter-group contact and co-operation.

(h) A knowledge of local conditions is an indispensable prelude to any public activity and certain group members should undertake a survey of other organizations, service facilities etc.

(i) Relations with other social groups should be established by individual members and, where possible, by the group itself.

(j) Each member should be encouraged to feel a responsibility for the policy decisions of the group, as the group should regard itself under an obligation to express support or disapproval of decisions of major importance taken by National Council, or the Area meeting.

(k) Every effort should be made to implement group and national decisions and to this end the members of the group should be urged to co-operate with all propaganda, service, or study work to which they do not object on conscientious or other grounds. The members of the group should fit themselves for this activity by training in speaking, first aid, etc., and regard themselves under a very real obligation to follow the suggestion and advice of democratically elected committees and officers. If, within the group, we are not able to practise a measure of self-discipline and distribution of responsibility, such as a willingness to sell Peace News at the suggestion of a propaganda committee or to follow a particular course of study on the advice of a study leader, then there is never any content in our talk of corporate activity.

Very relevant to these inspiring views is the following, taken from the Sunday Express of Sept. 6:

"Fourth of Havre damaged by Bombs"

"Every fourth house in Havre has been hit, and 2,000 have been totally destroyed since British raids began, states the mayor, according to the Berlin correspondent of the Stockholm Tidningen.

"The mayor also said that 380 people have been killed and 1,000 severely injured, and as only the poor have remained, the town depends on State assistance.—Reuter."

The Archbishop of Canterbury believes with the rest of us in the freeing of subject peoples. But does he believe in Liberation by Annihilation?

That is what is implied by our bombing policy carried to its logical (vide Oliver Stewart, above) conclusion!

T. J. E. WARBURTON

PENALTY

APPEARING at York Police Court on Thursday last for failing to comply with a condition of registration that he should do forestry work, R. D. J. Waite, assistant secretary to the Friends' War Relief Service in the north-eastern area, pleaded that he had "reasonable excuse" for not complying, as he was doing better work than forestry.

He was moved by his Christian be-

• £5 for one C.O.
• 1 Year for another

liefs to help people who were suffering and that was his reason for not complying. While he could have earned £4 a week on forestry, he was now receiving only 14s.

By a majority decision, R. D. J. Waite was found guilty and fined £5. The Chairman said that the magistrates hoped that the Ministry of Labour would see its way to recognize its view that Waite was doing better work where he was now employed.

MAXIMUM SENTENCE

In a similar case, John S. Chalmers of Glasgow, who joined the No More War movement in 1930 and is now secretary of the South-West Scotland Regional Board for COs, was charged with failing to comply with a condition of agriculture, forestry or land reclamation.

John Chalmers pleaded that the work he was doing provided "reasonable excuse" for his failure to comply with the condition and, arguing his case on proper legal grounds, called four witnesses to prove his contention. Two were JPs; the others were the Rev. Lawrie MacLachlan, Secretary of the For in Scotland, and Kenneth S. Laurie, chairman of the Regional Board.

The Bench decided that John Chalmers had not "reasonable excuse", and sentenced him to twelve months' imprisonment, the maximum imprisonment which can be imposed in a Sheriff Court for refusing a condition.

CABINET PUDDING

(Continued from page 1)

an alternative Government is possible without one) affects the Opposition just as much, and in very much the same way; and if the party funds of the Opposition happen to be low (so making it difficult to face the expenses of a general election) the power of the purse may have its effect in preserving the Government from defeat on a vote of confidence.

It is worth noting that, in the American Constitution, this power to penalize the House of Representatives for an honest vote has been withheld from an Executive which, in certain other respects, has wider powers. Can there be any doubt that this freedom from having its life threatened gives the House of Representatives a safeguard to its independence which our House of Commons lacks?

And there is a still further safeguard. No member of Congress may accept a Government appointment: if he wishes to do so, to which ever House he belongs, he must first resign membership. And while in America an adverse vote of the House of Representatives cannot dismiss the Executive, neither can the Executive dismiss the House of Representatives for its defeat of legislative proposals. Its power to do so in this country has undoubtedly sapped the independence of Parliament.

Not Democratic

Now it follows from this increase of Government control over its supporters (had enough under the ordinary system of divided parties) becomes very much worse when what calls itself a National Government is formed. Then it is not only one party which falls under the yoke, but all three, or however many more go to its formation. Then, as is now the case, the 126 pudding-plums are distributed among all parties, and the batter, beaten to a more even consistency, and consolidated by a judicial distribution of the plums, becomes more impossibly subservient to the will of the Government, and less and less expressive of change of opinion taking place in the constituencies. As this illegitimate misdirection of influence increases, by-elections become a farce, independent candidates are frowned on, and even where a constituency is inclined to favour them, the party leaders—now all members of the same Government—combine to secure their defeat.

This is the sort of House of Commons behind whose loss of independence the Government stands safely bolstered for the prosecution of the war as long as it likes, and in any way that it likes. And for the moment at any rate, the Government means Mr. Churchill, whom, until some major disaster overtakes the Allies, the country has been persuaded to regard as irreplaceable. For the prosecution of a war which is to result in military victory without negotiation, he probably is. But in the pursuit of that end we have ceased to be a democracy, and the machinery of Parliament is no longer in the hands of the country, but of the Prime Minister.

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Relief Shipments Arrive in Greece

THE first of the 15,000-ton monthly shipments of relief bread-grains has unloaded in Greece.

In telling the Commons this at Question Time on Sep. 8, Mr. Dingle Foot, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Economic Warfare, added that at the time the first three Swedish ships arrived at the Piraeus, two more, "carrying approximately another 15,000 tons, sailed from Montreal. This is in addition to the cargo of the Hallaren which reached Piraeus on Aug. 21 with 1,245 tons of wheat, all of which had been made available from Allied resources in the Middle East."

The Swedish Commission which has been appointed to administer the scheme arrived in Athens in the last few days of August, and it will be their business to supervise the distribution both of imported foodstuffs and, said Mr. Foot, to a certain extent Greek domestic produce.

In expressing gratitude for the relief work now operating, Hellas commented: "It must not, however, for one moment be imagined that this amelioration of the food situation will suffice to prevent famine in Greece." Elsewhere Hellas (Sep. 11) reports that "the epidemic of typhus is being fought effectively."

The Sunday Times, (Sep. 13) reports that in Greece "living conditions are deteriorating daily, prices reaching an almost unbelievable level. A pair of shoes costs between 25,000 and 50,000 drachmas." (The Times Ankara dispatch of Sep. 7, reporting the payment of doctor's fees in kind, added: "It may be presumed that consultation will be paid with, say, an egg, and an operation with a pair of shoes.")

An official statement issued in London showed that the Greek Government has spent the sum of £1,849,160 on food relief. In addition, the Vanderbilt Committee of New York had spent 1,500,000 dollars on food for Greece. The cost of the 15,000 tons of Canadian wheat is not included, as it is being generously given by the Canadian Government. (Times, Sep. 10.)

EX - OFFICER'S PLEA

The Manchester Guardian (Sep. 5) published a cable from Lisbon signed "Ralph Clode (ex-officer, invalided out in 1918)", urging that "on this solemn anniversary, and on the eve of the fourth and probably the severest winter of war," we "should show our brotherhood with the poorer masses of metropolitan France, notably its old people, women, and children, not only by words of good cheer but by allowing a minimum controlled amount of indispensable vitaminized foods and medicines to reach regularly the most needy there, and be distributed under some form of reliable supervision."

New Plan: More Facts

THE proposals for marginal relief, reported on this page last week, are stated in more detail by Dr. William Paton of the Famine Relief Committee in a letter to The Spectator (Sep. 11) answering criticisms made by Mr. Harold Nicolson, MP.

The committee "is asking our Government to permit the entry of powdered milk and certain milk products, together with vitamins, into the most seriously affected of the occupied countries, in order to relieve the worst dangers of famine for the child population of those countries. The International Red Cross have categorically stated that Germany has kept her promise not to remove for the benefit of occupying troops any material sent for the relief of needy populations. If she did so the arrangements would be cancelled."

"Moreover, the type of material which we propose might be sent is not such as Germany can supply, so that it cannot be argued that by this action we relieve her of a burden which she ought to bear." Dr. Paton claims that "the conditions, especially in urban Belgium, and in parts of France, are similar to those in post-war Vienna."

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MEETINGS, &c. (Cont.)

MURIEL LESTER: Golders Green Friends' Meeting House, Hampstead Garden Suburb. Thursday, Sep. 24, 7.30 p.m. (Moonlight!) "Work of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation." Chairman: Gorder Catchpool.

PERSONAL

COUPLE WILL STORE furniture, books, pictures, household goods, free for its use. London. Box 505 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

EX-PRISON C.O.s (1941-42) urgently asked communicate Roger Page, 12 West Park, London, S.E.9. Real chance improve prison medical services. If possible send 1d-stamped envelope for reply circular as advertiser unemployed.

GLOWING SPIRITUAL HEALTH, with freedom from mental and nervous disorders etc., has become the happy lot of some of the people in this world who have consulted J. Peter Grant, Independent Psychologist etc., of Burley, Hants. Minimum fee (all fees go towards maintaining and increasing this important and difficult work) is now 10/-, payable in advance. All this work is usually by post, but appointments are occasionally possible if preferred. My permanent correspondence address is BM/XFES, London, W.C.1. Remember it for the future.

HELP NEEDED in small residential nursery for 2-5 year olds, run by wife of C.O. Mother with child would be accepted. Moore, 11 Norman Way, Southgate, London, N.14.

PACIFIST INVESTORS requiring security and good return may be interested in practical pacifist farmer who requires additional capital of £300 owing to more intensive farming. Full references. Box 499 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

ROY WALKER, having completed another 15 days P.D.1, is doing 21 days P.D.2. Greetings cards or telegrams could be sent for his birthday. Sep. 23. Address: 2179, Wormwood Scrubs, W.12.

WIDOWER (37) with boy (5) seek home within 50 miles London where child could be looked after. Possibly co-ed. school where father could give friendly assistance part time. Very musical (own piano). Any helpful suggestions welcomed. BM/HOWE, London, W.C.1.

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DOMESTICATED WORKING HOUSE-KEEPER to live with family. Business people with two girls (5 and 7). Exempt Post. Outings Tuesday and Thursday from 6 p.m., Saturday and Sunday from 3 p.m. Mrs. Monk, 84 The Vale, Southgate, N.14. Telephone PALmers Green 7386.

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TWO BUSINESS MEN, bachelors, pacifists, require housekeeper urgently. North London area. Apply Box 500 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

WORKING Foreman accustomed to general house repairs required for builders and decorators, N.W. London. Living accommodation available. Write Box 492 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

YOUNG MAN to tend washing machines in modern laundry, Derby. Some experience of machinery an advantage. Apply Box 476 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

SITUATIONS & WORK WANTED

CHRISTIAN PACIFIST, 24, married, 2½ years land experience, vocationally interested market gardening, requires situation with cottage. Box 498 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

C.O., EXEMPT, single, age 36, educated, requires light work, representative, driver, etc., Glasgow and Scotland preferred. Box 497 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

C.O., 19, requires land work or market gardening in Middlesex (preferably in Uxbridge area). Hard and willing worker. Box 501 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

C.O., 23, single desires work on mixed or dairy farm—2½ years present post roundsman and general farm hand; able to drive tractor, wishes to gain further experience. Box 496 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

C.O., 29, conditionally exempted, requires market gardening work Midlands, Yorkshire or Westmorland. Two years experience. Box 502 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

DUPLICATING, TYPEWRITING. Prompt service, expert work, terms moderate. Baylis, 1 Lower Church Road, Richmond, Surrey.

GAOLED C.O.'s WIFE, expectant mother requires temporary light work. Good references. South London. Anything considered. Write: Colgan, 172 Peckham Rye, S.E.15.

PACIFIST, 28, married, some experience land work, desires agricultural or market gardening work with scope for initiative, preferably West Midlands. North, South-West. 8 years' experience of building trade—practical and administrative. 11 years motor driver, good mechanic. Box 493 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

PACIFIST, 57, active, offers housework, shopping, some cooking, no laundry, to business or professional lady or gentleman. Modern house, sea or country. Terms by arrangement. Box 504 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

WIFE OF C.O. desires work at home. Any suggestions? Former shorthand typist, book-keeper. Brentwood district. Box 503 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

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